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not in and of it, where are we? If it shall not exist because we took no sufficient part in creating it, what answer shall we make to history for the relapse of the nations by consequence into the state of elemental warfare?

Such is my response to the injunction that we keep the faith—the faith, that is, of the open, the courageous, the undistorted, the unconfused mind in the presence of great issues as they arise.

EDUCATORS AND THE LEAGUE

[Straw votes taken by newspapers throughout the United States indicate substantial unanimity among educators and scholars of the universities and colleges in favor of the League of Nations Covenant in substantially the form as first announced. Appended are some typical opinions, mainly from teachers of history or international law.—EDS.]

PROF. A. B. HART
Of Harvard University

This well-known historian, addressing the Chicago City Club on March 8th, said: "To assert that we should follow the doctrines of Washington simply because he uttered them is as absurd as to say that he should have been guided in 1796 by views expressed in 1689. I may add, moreover, that were Washington alive, he would be the first to repudiate his former conclusions and step into pace with the times."

PROF. GEORGE GRAFTON WILSON
Of Harvard University

"The representatives of some States at the Peace Conference of 1919, seem to be holding the old ideas of balance of power, alliances, and other combinations, while others seem to appreciate the drift toward the recognition of a degree of world unity. Metternich, in his day, viewed the effort of peoples to obtain embodiment in national unities as 'absurd in itself.' So in these days some view 'the paramount authority of the public will' as did Metternich, but Metternich, and Francis Joseph, who connected Metternich's day with the twentieth century, have both passed away. As nationalism was not sacrificed, but, rather, when separated from provincialism, given a greater opportunity for self-realization through the development of internationalism, so nationalism and inter-nationalism, as is clearly shown in the demand for self-determination of peoples and for effective sanction for international rights, will not be sacrificed in the development of pan-nationalism, but will be offered an opportunity for development to a degree hitherto unknown.*"

PRESIDENT A. LAWRENCE LOWELL
Of Harvard University

A permanent peace cannot be achieved unless we form a league to maintain it. Even if isolation were possible, it would mean constant preparation for war, and the last four years have taught us what vast outlay that involves. The burden would be so heavy as to lower materially the standard of living. At a time like this purely destructive or carping criticism is out of place. This great question is not to be met by superficial arguments; irrelevant arguments based upon the advice of great statesmen of a hundred years ago,

* The American Journal of International Law (January.)

but given under a condition that is wholly changed; infantile arguments based upon the fact that some of the other members of the league have as their symbol of national unity a king who reigns, but does not govern; futile arguments founded upon the assertion that it is unconstitutional to provide by treaty that we shall not go to war whenever we please; futile because Senators who use this argument have recently voted for the Bryan treaties with provisions that we should not go to war for any cause before submitting the matter to a commission of inquiry.

It is argued also that it is unconstitutional to form a league which has power to recommend to our country the limitation of armaments, when we have had for a hundred years a treaty limiting the armaments on the Canadian border, and have maintained it to the satisfaction of every one. We are assailed with plausible arguments that the league will destroy the Monroe Doctrine; whereas it extends the protection of the Monroe Doctrine over the whole world.—*Philadelphia Ledger*, April 5.

PROF. C. H. VAN TYNE
Of the University of Michigan

The attitude which some prominent political leaders are taking toward the draft of the League to Enforce Peace is distressing. We cannot be a hermit nation any more—the progress of invention has determined that. Only by some real union with our allies can we secure the fruits of the victory which saved the world's democracies. If we cannot unite with our allies in the terms proposed in the draft in question, we almost certainly can hope for no other alliance. If in place of this plan we all—the United States, France, England, *et al.*—go our own ways, Germany will very soon drive a diplomatic wedge between us, and we shall lose all the guarantees of the dominance of the democratic, peace-loving nations which we have won.

Those who talk tragically of the overthrow of the Monroe Doctrine by the proposed League are, if they have carefully read the instrument, merely raising a cloud of dust to conceal their real objection, which they dare not disclose. Others, who mourn the passing of our "dear old Constitution" if we accept this plan, are raising a mere bogey.

After years of study of constitutional history and after the most careful reading and study of the League plan, I cannot for the life of me see what there is in the Constitution which would be destroyed by accepting this plan. If there is such a clause let us amend the Constitution. We have of late amended it repeatedly for much less important matters. Much of the opposition seems to be aimed at President Wilson personally.*

PROF. ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN
University of Chicago†

"Now that America has won, what will she do—America, who cherishing, enlarging, and upbuilding the principles of British freedom for which the men of Britain had themselves struggled and suffered, America, who more than any other nation, unless it be the old and the regenerated England, is responsible for this spread of democracy through the last century and a half—what will America do? Well, we are told she will now live unto herself, scorn companionship, flout co-operation, shield herself from duty, assume ir-

* Letter, *New York Times*, March 14.

† Convocation address at the University, February.

responsibility. Such words would be funny if they were not so serious; all the more serious because they come from men sparring for party advantage and playing with the prejudices of races and factions. For this all means that we shall abjure democracy and refuse to act it out. We gave, forsooth, we gave our boys for revenge, to punish Germany, to ward off fear from our coasts, not to clarify and cleanse human life; we sent those 2,000,000 young fellows across the sea that we might be safe to lead an irresponsible existence, sharking for our own booty, heedless, content, autocratic, because uncompanionable, superior, inaccessible, self-willed, forgetting that democracy implies responsibility, faith, education, solidarity, adjustment, communication, companionship, co-operation, publicity, morality based on self-compulsion.

"Some things even the blind should see. You cannot act one thing and be another. If you would be democratic, act the democrat. In the world of international affairs maintain your faith, take courage from your belief in the hearts of men, rely on enlightened public opinion and strive to enlighten it and your own mind, trust to the weapons of publicity as the foe of stealth and intrigue and hidden malice. Cherish companionship, recognize life as a series of readjustments and accommodations, shoulder responsibilities, cast out mean fear, even though it be called danger to the Monroe Doctrine, practice friendliness, and be high-hearted, even as our boys were."

SCAFFOLDING

By Alfred E. Randell, in "The Public"

Planks and boards, and littered rafters,
Crudely joined in height;
Scattered stone, and slate, and plaster,
In chaotic plight.

Yet within that chaos—Beauty,
Chaste, enduring, true;
Symbol of man's joyous duty,
Daily thus, to woo
From the chaos of the present
Temples fit for God—
Temples where both King and Peasant
Serve, and pray, and laud.

President, and Kings and Nobles,
Scribes and Diplomats,
Representatives of Nations,
Full-fledged Democrats,
Titles, Rules, and Age-long Customs,
Strictly censored Press,
Long debates and hot discussions
Victory's Distress—

Scaffolding the growing glory,
Dream of all the years;
Fashioned out of human suffering,
Bought by blood and tears;
Built in spite of hatred, dark'ning
Mind of man with fears;
Radiant in its beauty, answ'ring
Vision of the Seers;
Monument of man's own building,
Triumph of the years.

Hail, thou League of all the Nations,
Prove thine untold worth,
Bring our war-sick world Salvation—
Peace, Good-will on Earth.

THE CONFERENCE DAY BY DAY

Formal Acts of Council and Commissions

Feb. 27.—A meeting of the ministers and representatives of the allied and associated powers was held at the Quai d'Orsay. M. Clemenceau came to M. Pichon's room in order to resume work with the delegates to the conference.

On motion by the American delegates it was decided to organize a central commission for territorial questions.

Afterward the Zionist case was presented by Dr. Weizmann and M. Solow, representing the Zionist organization; Professor Sylvain Levi, of the College of France and a member of the Palestine committee; Mr. Andre Spire, representing the French Zionist organization, and Mr. Szyzshkin, representing the Jews of Russia.

March 1.—The representatives of the allied and associated governments met at the Quai d'Orsay today at 3 p. m.

Marshal Foch submitted the report of the military representatives on the supreme war council regarding the military conditions to be imposed on the enemy.

Signor Crespi, in the name of the financial drafting committee, submitted the list of questions requiring solution, which were referred to the financial commission.

M. Clementel, on behalf of the economic drafting committee, explained the economic questions requiring solution in the peace treaty, which were referred to the economic commission.

March 3.—The supreme war council, after its meeting, issued an announcement as follows:

The supreme war council met today from 3 to 5 o'clock p. m. They discussed the report of the military, naval and air experts on the disarmament of the enemy.

The following official statement was also issued:

The commission for the study of Roumanian territorial claims held its ninth session yesterday morning and its tenth session this morning under the chairmanship of M. Tardieu, and continued the examination of Roumanian and Serbian claims.

The commission on reparation of damage held a meeting at 10:30 o'clock this morning with Louis Klotz, the French finance minister, in the chair. The statement issued after this meeting read:

The commission, after having dealt with certain questions on procedure on the order of the day, decided that the subcommittees should make every effort to expedite their work in order that their reports might be submitted to the full commission with the least possible delay.

The subcommittee on the international régime of ports, waterways and railways met today. The text of the announcement of the meeting said:

The second subcommittee of the commission on the international régime of ports, waterways and railways met this morning at 10:30 o'clock at the ministry of public works.

Examination of the draft respecting ports subject to an international régime was continued. After an exchange of views the subcommittee arrived at a decision as to the conditions under which this régime is to be applied.

March 5.—The allied supreme council met. The chairman brought to the notice of the council various questions relative to plans for future sessions.

The question of the relief of Austria and Hungary was then discussed.

M. Cvoedenovitch, the Montenegrin Minister at Washington, then set forth in the name of King Nicholas the point of view of the royal government on the situation in and future of Montenegro.

March 7.—The supreme Council met at 3 p. m. Information was given as to the interruption of the negotiations at Spa regarding the surrender of the German merchant fleet and Mr. Lansing submitted a proposal in regard to the German cables.

At the request of the Italian delegates it was decided to appoint an interallied military commission to inquire into the incidents at Laibach.